1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe.

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words:

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island.

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows:

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it.
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The following descriptions include all of the pigeon mounds which a thorough survey of the island could discover. The accuracy of the names cannot be vouched for, as they were supplied by a single informant, the only man found who professed to have any knowledge of the names. Three mounds, Nos. 8, 9, and 10, are classed as pigeon mounds because closely associated with structures known to be pigeon mounds. Native informants were of the opinion that they were used by the pigeon snarers in some capacity, possibly as temporary dwelling sites for the chiefs engaged in the sport. They are like the pigeon mounds which they neighbor except for the absence of any trace of a central pit or basin.

2. Finevalafililolo, in central southern Ualeva, Type II (fig. 6).

Finevalafililolo is composed of a mixture of sand and earth. The centrally placed pit has retaining walls of dressed rectangular slabs of coral stone averaging 3.5 feet in length, 0.7 foot in thickness and standing 2 feet out of the ground. The flat floor of the basin is of earth. The mound is surrounded at irregular intervals by ten funnel-shaped pits averaging 10 feet in depth and 25 to 30 feet in diameter, situated from 25 to 75 feet from the mound base. They are said to have furnished the earth from which the mound is constructed.

3. Siaulufotu, at the south end of Ualeva Island, Type II (fig. 7).

The sloping sides of Siaulufotu are surfaced with stone work consisting of an inner base of rough, loosely piled fragments and an outer coating intact only in places, of rectangular, roughly dressed slabs laid flat, their edges fitting together haphazardly (fig. 7, *c*). These slabs are 2 to 6 feet long, 1.5 to 4 feet wide and 0.3 foot to 0.5 foot thick. The largest slab in place measures 6 by 4 feet by 0.5 foot. The central depression is surrounded by rectangularly dressed slabs of stone averaging slightly more than 3 feet in length, 0.6 foot in thickness, and which stand 2 feet above ground and 1 foot below the bottom of the flat earthen floored basin. A steeply inclined dirt roadway from the northwest leading to the top of the mound is paved with rough stones of varying sizes, their flat sides turned upward to make a comparatively smooth surface.

Siaulufotu is entirely surrounded by a ditch or series of connected pits, 30 feet wide and 12 feet deep, which stands 40 to 50 feet from the mound base. It is thought to have furnished earth for the construction of the mound. Near the northernmost base of the mound is a flat bottomed well called Vaisioata (Water-mirror). Its walls are of loose, roughly piled stone and slant outward from the base at an angle of about 15° from the perpendicular. The rim of the well is 8 feet in diameter and the depth 3 feet, of which 1 foot is under water. The bottom appears to be partly filled with loose debris. About 50 feet east of the mound was found a quarry site where stone for the structure may have been obtained. At this place about a foot of surface soil had been removed, exposing coral "sandstone" which has been cut through in a way to suggest the removal of rectangular slabs.

4. Unnamed mound, Ualeva Island, Type II.

This mound consists of a circular pile of earth with a horizontally flat top. It is 3 to 4 feet high and has a base diameter of 82 feet and a top diameter of 72 feet. The earthen floor of the basin is horizontally flat. Its sides are supported by dressed rectangular slabs of stone practically all the same size, about 3 feet long, 0.6 foot thick, and 2 feet out of the ground. Several large funnel-shaped excavations near the mound probably indicate the source of material for the construction.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

6. Fangavahe, a cave under the hill Hufangalupe, near Vaini, island of Tongatabu, is reported to contain human bones.

7. Large cave in the shore cliff just west of Hoouma, island of Eua.

According to one story, the human bones found in the cave near Hoouma are the remains of a party of war refugees who had been discovered in their hiding place. Their enemies built a fire before the cave mouth and those within all died from suffocation. This story is told of various caves scattered all over the Tongan group. It seems to be a favorite means of accounting for the presence of bones in caves. A more reliable informant stated that the cave was a burial place and that the bodies had originally been placed in rows. The presence of an apparently artificial stratum of white sand on the cave floor, under the bones, suggests burial.

LAPAHA, THE KING'S VILLAGE

The village of Mua, situated on the shore of a lagoon, about 5½ miles southeast of Nukualofa, was for many generations the seat of Tongan government. As such, it was the center of Tongan life and culture, and remains the richest spot in archaeological monuments in the entire archipelago.

Information regarding the ancient plan of the town was obtained from old men and women who have long resided there, some of them the direct descendants of individuals whose official business it was to keep track of just such information. The ranking direct descendant of the last Tui Tonga was one of the chief informants. Another source of information is the considerable mass of mythological material assembled by Gifford (13). Personal observations produced the measurements and descriptions of the existing remains of ancient structures.

Mua is divided into two districts (fig. 46). The northern half including the area known as Maolunga is the ancient Lapaha, the southern half is the comparatively recent addition called Tatakamotonga. Lapaha was divided between the Tui Tonga, the ruling dynasty for many generations, and the Tui Haatakalaua, a chiefly family closely related to the Tui Tonga, who dominated the political life of Tonga for a period preceding the rise of the Tui Kanokupolu, the present dynasty.

Cook (4, vol. 1, pp. 282-283) contributes the following interesting description of Lapaha:

> The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all, or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened, on the inside, by a prop of wood; so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use. . . . There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and inclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public assemblies are held.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery. 172 349 [361]

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga. 172 342 [362] 172 342 644

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated. [362]

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications. [362] [712]

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high. 172 351 644 [342]

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35 172 346 [368]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183 515

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539 571 602 826

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539 827 576 516

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *augavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539 431 183

Giving away grudgingly: not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539 356 [342]

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539 423 571 829

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

IV.

HOW I FARED AT COURT.

645 505 (552) At length, on August 27, Fatafehi's schooner the Malokula was declared ready for sea, and I embarked with Tukuaho, Fatafehi, and Chief Clerk Mataka. The vessel was unpleasantly crowded with old women, whose prostrate bodies made the traverse of the deck at night impossible. At sunset we passed Malinoa, where lay the four men who were shot after the attempt on Mr Baker's life. Thence, clear of reefs, we stood on with a fair wind through the night until we could see the glare of the volcano of Tofua, then in eruption. After a fruitless attempt to capture a pig at Haafeva, which wasted a precious hour, we dropped anchor at Lifuka at nearly 133 noon. We were on the lee side of a low narrow island, nowhere more than thirty feet above high-water mark, but covered with grass and cocoa-nuts to the water's edge. Other islands of the same kind stretched away to the 361 north and south of us. The town was a mere row of iron- 347 roofed stores on the beach: behind them could be seen 351 the usual native huts dotted about among the trees, with grass growing right up to the doors, and horses tethered here and there between them.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

is a female bull (*koe bulu fefine*). D'Entrecasteaux, who visited Tonga fourteen years after Cook, found that the existence of the cattle left by that navigator was so far forgotten that the natives did not know which island they were on, if indeed they were alive at all. They were then spoken of as *puaka tute* (Cook's pigs). Cook himself records the fact that the new animals excited but little interest. This indifference still survives in the unwillingness of the people to keep cattle, in spite of the excellent pasture in the island and the large profits to be made from the sale of milk. Almost every Tongan owns a horse; scarcely half a dozen keep cows. A cow cannot be ridden, and it must be watered and milked with absolute regularity or it will run dry; and of all the products of civilisation, regular routine is the most hateful to the Polynesian.

I have spoken elsewhere of horses. The ancestors of the present breed were brought from New Zealand some forty years ago, but through promiscuous breeding they have dwindled to the size of the American mustang,—hard wiry ponies, without either mouth or paces, full of tricks and ill-temper, but capable of covering immense distances without fatigue. They vary in price from a few shillings to £7 or £8. The Government might easily have improved the breed by making gelding compulsory, or by enforcing the horse-tax; as it is, the country is overrun with wretched beasts, covered with sores, whose only use is to keep the grass short. I remember one of the police magistrates applying to the Government for an impounded horse,—"not that I may ride it, but because I am old, and there is no one to weed my enclosure."

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

ner in his book on the Tonga Islands. The summit of this mound is now crowned by a good chapel of native construction, which affords an excellent land-mark to navigators making for the anchorage; and it also stands as a very prominent emblem of the Gospel triumphs that have been achieved over the former habits of the people.

Looking eastward, Bagaimotu and a cluster of other islands, stretching away to the north-east, shut out the "*Hahake*," or eastern end of Tonga, from sight, whilst *Hihifo* and the island of Atata bound the prospect on the extreme west.

The town of Nukualofa may be regarded not only as the capital of Tongatabu, but as the metropolis of the little ocean empire of King George Tubou. It has risen from the obscurity of a small village, and has become the centre of religious influence and the chief seat of political authority, while several of the ancient royal residences have been almost entirely deserted. It is partly indebted for its importance to its admirable situation on the seaboard, but most of all to the fact, that Christian converts from various heathen towns were drawn thither, during successive years, that they might reap the full benefit of Missionary instruction, and be freed also from the persecutions to which they were subjected by their heathen friends. A short description of this town will serve to indicate the general appearance and arrangements of all others.

Nukualofa is intersected by tolerably wide paths, kept scrupulously free from all rank vegetation and dirt. These paths are bounded by the neat reed fences which enclose the *abis* or residential sections of the various chiefs and their retainers. These

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

enclosures are planted largely with useful trees, such as the bread-fruit, banana, cocoa-nut, orange, citron, shaddock, and a variety of shrubs whose overhanging foliage effectually screens the pathways from the intense heat of the sun. Very little order is observed in placing the numerous houses within these enclosures. There are no regular avenues or streets. In fact, a house is generally placed where it can obtain the greatest amount of shade from overhanging trees,—a matter certainly of considerable importance in a tropical climate. A casual visitor, therefore, can see but few dwellings even when he has entered within the *loto a*, or fence of the *abi ;* and, until he hunts them out amongst the abounding shrubbery, he wonders where the people live.

A Tonguese house suits the few necessities and easy habits of the people, but has none of the comforts so essential to a higher type of civilization. With the exception of what may be called public buildings, and a few of the dwellings of the chiefs of highest rank, their dimensions are small, and they contain but two apartments. They are, however, constructed with an eye to neatness and great strength ; and when elaborately finished in the best native style, their interior appearance is by no means to be despised. The walls range from four to eight feet in height, and are formed either of a single or double fencing of reeds, which, when interlaced and bound by sinnet to the *tokotuus*, or stakes and posts, planted all round the eaves of the building, resembles very much strong basket-work. These walls are sometimes made more wind and weather tight by the addition of a lining of plaited cocoa-nut leaves; but, at the best, they afford a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence they peep out upon the passer-by. But, no doubt, the close proximity of so many trees and shrubs is exceedingly deleterious to health during the rainy seasons; and great risk is also incurred by the practice, when a hurricane comes sweeping all before it, and crushing the dwellings of the people beneath the falling trees. A somewhat unfortunate attempt was made, a good many years since, at sanitary improvement, under the direction of one of the Missionaries, on whose behalf, however, it is but fair to state, that his intention and instructions were far exceeded by the action of the natives. Having stated to some of the chiefs in the town of Lifuka, Haabai, that a disease, then raging as an epidemic, might possibly be lessened by a clearance of the bush, they immediately issued instructions to cut down and destroy every tree and bush in the town, and to throw open a wide space from thence clear away to the sea. Amidst the shouts and merriment of a thousand voices, axes and fire soon did the work; but it was very shortly found more intolerable to bear day by day the full blaze of the vertical sun, than to endure the more rare evils of a hurricane, or even the miasma arising from rank vegetation. Since that time it has been difficult to prevail upon the people to undertake any really beneficial changes in the structure and location of their houses.

Upon landing at Nukualofa, we were kindly received by the veteran Missionary, the Rev. John Thomas, and his good lady, both of whom had spent many years of varied and useful labour among the people. Their house differed but little from those of the natives, excepting in size; also

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Beyond these stands the *Bou valu*, a large open building devoted to the reception of strangers, and to the transaction of all public business. Around this place there is a *malae*, or grassy sward, of several acres in extent, fringed by cocoa-nut and cedar trees; the prospect being bounded on the right by the hill of Neiafu, at the foot of which lies a burial-ground, where the remains of two missionaries have been interred, near the tombs of the leading native families.

Proceeding a little further inland, the Chapel is reached. That which stood there in 1846, measured one hundred feet by forty-five. Turning from thence to the left by a road leading towards Talau, the Mission premises were soon reached. These consisted, at the time specified, of a large printing-office, containing three presses with all their necessary appurtenances; and beyond that building lay the dwellings required for three Mission families. These were erected upon separate *abis*, or allotments of gardening land, the whole being surrounded by a neat native fence, with a magnificent row of large orange-trees lining the entire frontage to the road.

After the bustle of landing our stores was over, the active duties of Mission life immediately commenced. Among these, the acquirement of the language was felt to be the thing of greatest importance. We had not been idle in this matter since reaching the islands: but still, in the prevailing religious excitement, and the consequent increase of labour devolving upon our senior colleague, Mr. Turner, we saw abundant reason for prosecuting its study with unsparing diligence. We longed to take an active part in the religious

26: Buck D,E-4 (no date) 1935 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

ritual became more elaborate, and an educated priesthood officiated. Religious places of worship conformed to three main types.

(a) Stone structures were characteristic of central, eastern, and northern Polynesia. The main features were a paved or gravelled court usually rectangular in ground plan and a raised platform at one end of the court. Elaboration varied in different regions as to the presence of curbing, walls, stone uprights, stepped platforms, stone seats, houses, images, additional courts and terraces, and special features such as the carved boards *(unu)* of Tahiti and the oracle-tower of Hawaii. Simple forms occurred in the atoll islands, the inland valleys of the Society islands, and the now uninhabited islands of Nihoa and Necker which lie to the north-west of Hawaii. The unroofed court accommodated a select congregation and the raised platform provided a sacred place about which the priests officiated.

In central and part of eastern Polynesia, the structures were referred to as *marae* but there are linguistic indications that the term *marae* more specifically indicated the court while the raised platform was usually distinguished by some form of the term *ahu*. In Easter island, the emphasis was on the raised platform with its stone images, and the term *ahu* seems to have included the whole structure with the sloping pavement in front of the platform. In northern Polynesia, the term *marae* disappeared and the Hawaiian structure received the name of *heiau*.

The thatched buildings that were erected on some courts for the housing of drums, sacred objects, images, and even priests, were accessory to the fundamental stone structure. It is probable that some of the simpler courts had no houses erected on them.

(b) Wooden structures were characteristic of the Tongan and Samoan groups of western Polynesia. They were built on the same architectural plan as the dwelling- and guest-houses which stood on stone platforms. Wooden fences were erected around the house to define a taboo area. The term *malae* (cf. Tahitian *marae)* was not applied to these sacred houses but referred to the village-green where open-air meetings of a purely social nature were held. The stone platform was accessory to the house and

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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At the very heart of Tongan life is the family unit, and it is that which keeps Tonga strong: her loyalty within herself, her spirit of closeness, and the bonds of unity among her people. The family and friends of Dr. and Mrs. Posesi Fanua, shown here in Nuku'alofa, bespeak of that vital force which embraces persons of every age.

Ko e ma'a mahu'inga 'aupito 'i Tonga 'a e mo'ui fakafamili. Ko e ta eni 'o e famili, kaainga mo e ngaahi maheni 'o Tokaita Posesi Fanua mo hono hoa ko Tupou.

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361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking [342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising 343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an 351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet [514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat [515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure, [513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs 351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually [296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

of an *'api* is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of *'api* are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

This caused the loss of lives and every possession, including the boat. Only one person escaped to tell of the fate that had befallen them.

The present pronunciation of number 2 above is /te'ekiu/. We have, again, added the glottal stop which Gifford left out. This is listed by Gifford as having two morphemes: /te'e + kiu/ "excrement + plover." Actually, this originally consisted of two morphemes, too, but cut this way: /te'eki + uu/.[5] The first morpheme, /te'eki/ means "not yet," and /uu/ means "sheltered." This was the way it was meant to be, for it originated with the warriors of Vaha'i when they were digging trenches to hide in during the civil war with Hahake district of Tongatapu during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The commander used to call out to the men, /kuo uu/ "are you sheltered," and the answer kept coming back, /te'eki uu/ "not sheltered yet."

There is a way to find a solution to Gifford's remark that sometimes "a name is open to more than one interpretation." This involves the reviewing of oral traditions as presented and preserved in legends, myths, tales, and poems set to music for dancing. It would seem only logical that one would be forced to retain the interpretation of a name which is well supported by evidence from oral traditions and reject that which seems to have been forced, and really has no leg to stand on.

With this in mind, let us look at some of the following names and their meanings, first, as listed by Gifford, and second, by reviewing their histories.

The following names were associated with the birth of Taufa'ahau, Tonga's well-known King George Tupou I, originally known as Nginingini Ofo-langa:[6]

Luahoko. "Sunken reef next another (lua, sunken reef; hoko, next, nearest in place)."[7]

Luangahu. "Reef of the ngahu tree (lua, sunken reef; ngahu, a tree)."[8]

Niuui. "A kind of coconut (niu, coconut; ui, the name of a one kind of coconut)."[9]

Ofolanga. "Erected wonder (ofo, wonder, marvel; langa, to erect)."[10]

The following story is the historical background for the above names as connected with their location at Ha'apai.

Tupouto'a of Ha'apai heard that Houma Fale Ono, the daughter of the chief of Houma in Tongatapu, had been sent by her father to reside with Lavaka at Kahoua.[11] She had been acting strangely and wanted to drink human blood. Tupouto'a, however, knew that she was not possessed by evil spirits as her relatives had assumed, but was simply suffering from morning sickness, for he had been living with her during the last few months when he was in Tongatapu. So he came over to Kahoua and stole her away.

They spent the next few months cruising around the islands of Ha'apai. It is said that when they landed on the beach of one of the many little islands off the shore of Lifuka, Houma Fale Ono vomited violently because of the smell of the

5. The /u/ was long and it is written here as a double vowel.
6. Uate Mahe of Hihifo told the story of how Taufa'ahau received that name from the priest of Ha'elefeke. Apparently, the priest gave him that name after he cured him from drowning in the whale oil of the ill-fated "Port Au Prince" which the people of Ha'apai massacred. The priest took on the name of Taufa Tahi.
7. Gifford 1923:142.
8. Ibid.:143.
9. Ibid.:177.
10. Ibid.:183.
11. This place name is not listed by Gifford even though it is currently in use. It means "two reeds" and it refers to the double fence around Lavaka's residence which was made of this variety of bamboo.

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which on most occasions was our interpreter had either been misinformed or what was more likely had missunderstood them for in this affair we had been labouring under some gross misstakes, this Marriwaggy, tho a great man yet was by no means superior to Fattafee Polaho. I was now very sorry I did not make a longer stay at the place we went to; it was a Villige most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the great men in the island resided, each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses and offices for servants &c[a]. These plantations were all neatly finced round, with for the most part only one entrance which was by a door that was generally fastened on the inside by a shore or prop of wood, so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Publick roads and narrow lanes lay between every plantation, so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these plantations were laid out in grass plats, and planted with such things as seemed more for Ornament than use; but hardly any were without the Cava plant on which they make their favourate drink, and some were planted with every thing the island produceth, but I observed these were not the residence of people of the first rank. There were some large house[s] near the publick roads uninclosed with large smooth grass plats before them; these I was told belonged to the King, they seemed to be common to every one and were probably the places where they have their publick assembl[i]es. On our first landing we were conducted to one of these houses where we seated our selves according to the Custom of the Country and in a short time had a very numerous assembly who very orderly seated themselves in a simicircle before us, not one attempting to come near us unless desired.

FRIDAY 13*th*. About Noon the next day this Mariwaggy we had heard so much of actually came, and with him a very considerable number of people of all ranks. In the after noon a party of us accompaned by Feenough went to pay him a visit; we found him amongst a great number of peop[l]e of both sex Seated round a large piece of Cloth, not less than 40 yards in length, spread out on the ground. At the upper end sat an elderly Chief named Toobough, which for distinction sake I shall call old Toobough,[1] him, from the place he was seated, we took to be Marriwaggy till undeceived by Feenough, who interduced us to him seated on one side; he received us very kindly and desired us to sit down by him; he and also Toobough had a very venerable appearence, both being grey with age. The meeting with

[1] i.e. a different Tupou again, and a more important one: see p. 129, n. 1 below.

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furnish'd, and wading up to the middle within the seine directed it slowly under water where they saw any fish, and rais'd it up pretty quickly, bringing the fish when the[y] caught any in it. We got a few mullet from them & then row'd to the bottom of the bay where we landed on going to see Mareewagge, from whence we proceeded to Poulahos house which was but a little way off. Almost close by it we found a Fya'tocka or burying place much more extensive and seemingly of more consequence than any we had seen at the other islands. It consisted of three pretty large houses situated on a rising ground or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all rangd longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and plac'd in a square 24 paces by twenty eight raisd about three feet high, with the surface coverd with shingle stones and the whole bounded by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, plac'd on their edges, one of which measur'd twelve feet in length, two in breadth and above one in thickness. The others were placd on little mounts rais'd artificially to the same height and coverd with gravel, one of the huts, contrary to what we had seen before, being open on one side which we enterd & found coverd with shingle, with two rude wooden busts of men, one at the entrance the other farther in, the last of which from its appearance had been there perhaps several ages. On calling to some of the natives who had follow'd us to the ground but durst not enter here, to enquire what they were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there.[1] A[t] the foot of the rising ground there is a large area or plat of grass with different trees about it, amongst which are several of those call'd Etôâ very large, which resemble the Cypress & have a fine effect in such a place. There is also a row of low palms near one of the houses & behind them is a ditch in which was a vast number of old baskets.

We travers'd the greatest part of the country about the bottom of the Bay which is call'd Mooa,[2] and found it perfectly cultivated for above a mile back from the sea, and full of inclosures made by such fences as were seen at Ha'paee but they were more extensive and had finer roads in the interspaces. The habitations within these inclosures are very numerous and belong chiefly to some of the principal people of the island, many of whom reside at this place. Each of them has a proper entrance or door, generally higher than the fence & of a sufficient breadth, which opens in the same manner as one properly hung upon hinges, behind which is a pretty large spar that rests with

[1] Cf. Cook, p. 139, n. 1 above. [2] Mu'a.

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the large end against a stone fix'd in the ground for that purpose, and the other being push'd against the door serves as a strong bar, which makes it as necessary to rap here at the door as at a gate in England before you can enter an inclosure. In a great many of them there is a smaller inclosure within, this also often with a door, where the house of the principal person is immediately plac'd, and near it or very often in the outer one houses of an inferior sort for servants and dependents. There are sometimes several little places again within this that have fences and houses, but communicate freely with each other, and in most there is commonly a pretty spot of short grass, though of no regular figure, before them with sweet smelling shrubs call'd Ma'eele[1] and Hooe[2] planted up and down and some other trees that produce beautifull flowers. The outer inclosure has commonly such things as they often want planted in them, as Cocoa nut trees or some plantanes and bread fruit, but no considerable plantations of Plantanes or Yams.

Beyond this a mile or two we generally found the Plantations more extensive but open, and still farther on a great quantity of uncultivated land coverd with grass as high as the Knee. Our guides said if we advanc'd that way we should still find a waste uncultivated country, or as they call it Vâó,[3] but they probably did it only to save themselves a little fatigue, for some miles beyond this the land seem'd to rise a little higher and had a great many Cocoa trees, both signs of its being cultivated. It could also be observ'd that even in this place the soil was good, and it is probable many of the spots only lay fallow, for we saw two or three large plantane fields that had lately been broke in from such ground. It is remarkable that when on the highest part, which is at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often found the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface in the paths; and in many places where there were large breaches with a small quantity of stinking water at the bottom, it was always in the solid coral shatterd or seperated as it were by violence.

At one place we fell in with a house where they were manufacturing their cloth, which though extensive in itself is a very simple operation. They take the slender stalks (or trunks) of the papper mulberry plant, which they cultivate for that purpose and seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height or four fingers in thickness, from which they strip the bark and scrape off the outer rind with

[1] Maile, *Alyxia stellata*, a shrub with fragrant long slender stems, abundant small leaves and dark red berries, much used for wreaths.
[2] Hoi, *Dioscorea bulbifera*, one of the yams, with small flowers in spike-like clusters.
[3] *sea*, land in its natural uncultivated state. Anderson is very accurate.

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241 of the island is in the highest state of cultivation. The large extent of
[311] the Plantane fields was taken notice of already, and the same may be
said of the Yams, these two together being at least as ten to one to all
[412] the other articles. In planting both these it does not appear they turn
over the ground as we do, but in a field that has lain waste and is
coverd with grass they dig small holes for their reception, and after-
wards root up the grass with a flat narrow wooden instrument call'd
Hōōō,[1] which in this hot country is quickly depriv'd of its vegetating
power and soon rotting becomes a good manure. They are planted
in rows by a line such as our Gardiners use, in such a manner that
which ever way you look the rows present themselves regular and
compleat. The Plantanes are usually three paces asunder, the Yams
two and the Jeejees one. The first are shoots from the root of the old
tree, which when weak they often defend with a sort of basketing laid
over them, and the Yam tendrils at first shooting up are frequently
245 supported on short bits of sticks. The Cocoa nuts and bread fruit trees
241 are scatterd about without any order and seem to give them no
trouble after they have attaind a certain heighth. The same may be
said of another large tree which produces great numbers of a large
roundish compress'd nut call'd 'Eēefee,[2] and a smaller tree that bears
a rounded oval nut two inches long with two or three triangular
kernels, tough and insipid, call'd Mabba,[3] most frequently planted
near their houses. The Kappe is commonly regular[l]y planted and
in pretty large spots, but the Ma'whaha is interspers'd amongst other
things, as the Jeejee or Yams, the last of which I have frequently seen
in the interspaces of the Plantane trees at their common distance.
241 Sugar cane is commonly in small spots crowded closely together, and
248 the Mulberry of which the cloth is made, though without order, has
[249] sufficient room allowd it and is kept very clean. The only other plant
they cultivate for their manufactures is the Pandanus which is
commonly planted in a row close together at the sides of the other
fields, and they consider it is a thing so distinct in this state that they
have a different name for it,[4] a proof that they are very sensible of the
great changes brought about by cultivation. Whether the same re-
mark may be applied to the Mulberry I am not certain, for it seems
doutfull if ever they knew it in any other than its present cultivated
one, as it never flowers; at least there was none of the old trees from
whence they could propagate it seen, wheras the Pandanus is one of
417 the most common in the country. Their fences should be considerd

● 351

[1] *kuo.* [2] Ifi, *Inocarpus edulis.* [3] Mapa, *Diospyros lateriflora* or *D. ellipticifolia.*
[4] The Tongan vocabulary at the end of the third volume of the printed *Voyages* gives one of the meanings of 'Keeai' [*kie*] as 'the cultivated Pandanus'.

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here, though they are rather intended as conveniencys to their dwellings than a shelter to the plantations. They are made by passing two reeds together obliquely upwards over two others, and so on in such a manner that they form a pretty lattice work with rhomboidal spaces of about two inches to a side, though there are others made quite close by placing five or six together alternately over and under each other. The uneven tops are left uncut and the foot kept clean by digging up the grass with the Hooo, by which care & frequent repairs they seem to last a long time.

It is not easy to guess why these people who in many things show much taste and ingenuity should fall short in building their houses, not so much in the execution but design. Those of the lower people are poor huts scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable but not what one would expect. The dimensions of a middling one is about thirty feet long, twenty broad and twelve high. It is properly speaking a sort of roof or shade, rounded at the ends, reaching to within two feet and a half (or three at most) of the ground all round, under which they creep in. It is supported by strong posts plac'd commonly at equal distances a little within the edge, with others laid along upon their tops and some laid across from these, which again have perpendicular ones rising from their middle to support the top ridge. These are firmly lash'd together with a cord made of Cocoa nut fibres, in which they indicate their taste for variety by mixing white and black so as always to represent som[e] regular figure. The frame on which the thatching is supported consists of well made laths laid in a very regular manner from top to bottom, with others running across in the same manner without them & fastend with the Cocoa cord. The thatch is chiefly of Cocoa & other leaves laid over these laths in such a way, by being doubled under them & intercepted by the next, that they need little fastening and to a thickness which makes them proof against the rain or wind. Some of the principal people have houses almost twice as large, and the Ma'laees or houses of public resort which are pretty numerous are still larger; but there is a sort commonly smaller than the dwelling houses, almost round and well clos'd on every side with reeds plac'd close together, except a small square hole to creep in at. These serve as store houses to preserve their cloth, matts, yams & other spare things in that their dwelling places may not be incumbered, and are so contriv'd that the reeds composing the sides point outwards, so that it seems to stand upon a narrow base, which with the thatch projecting over a little way effectually prevents any rain getting in. The houses of the

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They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

[429 cont.]

175 533 fingers upright. Their voices were very sweet and mellow, and they sung in parts. When they had done they were relieved by others, who sung the same tune, and at last they joined together in chorus. A very ingenious gentleman, who was on this voyage with us, has favoured me with one of the tunes which he heard in this island, which may serve as a specimen to the musical part of my readers.

In this little specimen the music is in the minor key, (a flat third.) They varied the four notes without ever going lower than A or higher than E; singing them rather slow, and sometimes ending with the chord

175 609 The kindness of the people was expressed in every look and gesture, and they freely offered us some coco-nuts, of which we found the 175 137 liquor very palatable. We were likewise regaled with a most delicious perfume in this place, which the breeze wafted towards us. It was a considerable [430] time before we discovered from whence it proceeded; but at last having looked at some shady trees at the back of the house, we perceived they were of the lemon tribe, and covered with beautiful branches of white flowers, which spread this fragrant 175 609 smell. The natives soon brought us some of the fruits, which we 262 knew to be of the kind called shaddocks in the West-Indies, and pomplemoses at Batavia and the adjacent East-Indian isles. Their shape was perfectly globular, their size almost as large as a child's head, and their taste extremely pleasant.

175 417 On both sides of the lawn we took notice of a fence or enclosure

351 â [sic!···Analyst]

[430 cont.]

175 made of reeds, diagonally plaited in an elegant taste. A door,
351 which consisted of several boards, and was hung on a rope instead
417 of hinges, gave admittance into a plantation on each side. We
175 separated, in order to examine this beautiful country, and at
123 every step had reason to be well pleased with our discoveries. The
175 door was so contrived as to shut after us without any assistance,
351 and the enclosures were over-run with climbers, and especially a
137 bind-weed, having flowers of a beautiful sky-blue. The prospect
[447] now changed into an extensive garden, where we saw a number of tufted shaddock-trees, tall coco-palms, many bananas, and a few bread-fruit trees. In the midst of this spot the path led us to a dwelling-house, like that on the lawn, surrounded by a great variety [126] of shrubs in blossom, whose fragrance filled the air. We roamed through [431] these bushes, and collected a variety of plants which 175 we had never met with in the Society Isles. The inhabitants seemed 123 to be of a more active and industrious disposition than those of 609 [181] Taheitee, and instead of following us in great crouds wherever we [171] went, left us entirely by ourselves, unless we entreated them to accompany us. In that case we could venture to go with our pockets open, unless we had nails in them, upon which they set so great a 175 value that they could not always resist the temptation. We passed 351 through more than ten adjacent plantations or gardens, separated 361 by enclosures, communicating with each other by means of the doors before mentioned. In each of them we commonly met with a house, 175 of which the inhabitants were absent. Their attention to separate 181 their property seemed to argue a higher degree of civilization than [171] we had expected. Their arts, manufactures, and music were all more

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171
[181] But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[43] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[23] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[262] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[291] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[35] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

[441 cont.]

175 crossed it, we met with a most delightful walk about a mile in
311 length, formed of four rows of coco-nut trees, which ended in
487 another lane between plantations of great regularity surrounded
by shaddocks and other trees. It led through a cultivated valley
to a spot where several paths crossed each other or met in one.
175 Here we saw a fine lawn covered with a delicate green turf, and
351 surrounded by large shady trees on all sides. In one corner of it
there was a house, which was empty at present, its inhabitants being
175 probably by the water's side. Mr. Hodges sat down to draw this
126 delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world,
175 fraught with odours which might have revived a dying man; the sea
[136] breeze played with our hair and gently cooled us; a number of small
birds twittered on all sides, and many amorous doves cooed harmoniously in the deepest shade of [442] the tree under which we were
[137] seated. The tree was remarkable for its roots, which came out of
the stem near eight feet above the ground, and for its pods of more
than a yard long, and two or three inches broad. This secluded
spot, so rich in the best productions of nature, where we sat
solitary with no other human being besides our two natives, struck
us with the idea of enchanted ground, which being the creation of
our own gay fancy, is commonly adorned with all possible beauties
at once. In fact, there could not have been a more desirable spot
for a little place of retirement, according to the elegant imagination
of Horace, if it had only been supplied with a crystal fountain or
[312] a little murmuring rill! But water is unfortunately the only blessing
[764] denied this charming little island. To the left of this spot we
[487] discovered a shady walk, that brought us to another grassy lawn, at

175 [448 cont.]
311 Part of it appeared to have been planted
[244] with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
[133] in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
[136] resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
[487] a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
[417] enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
[609] the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
[201] provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
175 [449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
351 enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
184 as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
175 shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
137 manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
175 pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
311 which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
181 advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

175 One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
137 which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
[136] far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[452 cont.]

175 764 surrounded with the finest groves. That which I have here described, 114 126 was drawn by Mr. Hodges, and an exact representation of it is inserted in captain Cook's own account of this voyage.

176 123 We continued our walk through the plantations, and met with very few inhabitants, they being almost all gone towards the trading- 175 place. Those we saw passed by us, or continued their occupations 123 without stopping on our account. Neither curiosity, nor distrust 609 and jealousy excited them to prohibit our farther progress; on the contrary, they always spoke in a kind tone to us, which sufficiently 175 characterized their disposition. We looked into many of the houses 351 184 and found them empty, but always laid out with mats, and delightfully [352] situated among odoriferous shrubs. Sometimes they were separated 129 [417] from the plantations by a little fence, through which a door, like those of Ea-oowhe, gave admittance, which could be shut on the inside. In that case only the area, which this fence enclosed around the hut, was planted with the odoriferous grove, which is so much in 175 request with the natives. A walk of three [4[illegible]3] miles brought us to 133 the eastern shore of the island, where it forms a deep angle, which Tasman called Maria Bay. Where we fell in with it, the ground sloped imperceptibly into a sandy beach; but as we walked along towards the north point, we found it rose perpendicularly, and in some places it was excavated and overhanging. It consisted, however, entirely of coral, which is a strong proof of some great change on our globe, as this rock can only be formed under water. Whether it was left bare by a gradual diminution of the sea, or perhaps by a more violent revolution which our earth may formerly have suffered, I shall not venture to determine. So much, however, may be assumed as a certainty,

593 561 554 [601] Under this system only constituents of the category tokoua 'siblings of ego's sex' can either be of higher rank of lower rank than ego by virtue of seniority. In this case there is a terminological distinction with older siblings of the same sex referred to as ta'okete and younger siblings of the same sex referred to as tehina. Kaeppler (1971: 176) suggests that age ranking is not very important, but it seems quite important within the sibling group for establishing order of dominance and subordination, for determining leadership on formal occasions and, of course, for determining inheritance. Figure 2 illustrates kin ranking. A

'Api: A Household

592 The term 'api is best translated as 'household' but it can also denote a plot of land for residence or gardening, or it can be used to refer to persons living together in a household. The Tongan household is the primary unit of production and normally functions as the largest unit for resource management.

592 351 Each household is situated on a compound covering 1 rood, 24 perches of village land.[2] Each structure on a compound is referred to according to its function; households usually consist of a sleeping house (fale mohe), a cookhouse (fale kai or peito), a roofless bathing stall (fale kaukau), and a covered toilet (fale malolo). Sleeping houses vary in design from traditional thatch houses to brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In houses of the more traditional design partitions are absent except for tapa cloth (ngatu) curtains separating the sleeping

342 343 342 [178]

A. [See p. 45--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45]

342 quarters of the household head and his wife from the rest of the house. The larger portion of the interior is used for working, receiving guests, kava parties, eating, and as a bedding area for children and other members of the household.

351 Compounds often have small garden plots of decorative or edible plants, and hedges are a common feature around compound borders. Palms, (245) breadfruit trees, mangoe trees, and other large plants with fruits or barks of an edible or medicinal value are left standing in the compound, (462) but all other vegetation is removed. The lawns are cut and swept by the (857) women and children of the household. Pigs, goats, chickens, cows and (231) horses are often picketed or penned within the compound.

Relationships within the Household

592 594 Most Tongans have a preference for living in nuclear family households and this pattern is generally followed. Of the forty-two households in Puke, forty-one are nuclear families, eight of which contain an unmarried relative of the household head or the household head's 592 wife. One household includes three conjugal pairs, but two of the married couples were only recently married and have not yet established independent households. Village households have a mean size of 6.52 persons. (The 1966 Census of Tonga shows a mean household size of 6.9 persons for Tongatapu.)

592 594 A household, then, most frequently consists of a man, his wife, and their real or adopted children. Within his own house a man is tangata 'eiki 'chiefly man', and is the authority of the household.

351

[For further information on plants used to decorate the property around dwellings, see Categories 245 and 247.]

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Genus **Bauhinia** Linnaeus

Bauhinia monandra Kurz, Asiatic Soc. Bengal, Jour. 42(2):73, 1874. 137

Shrub or small tree with brown-hairy young growth. Leaves alternate, rounded-ovate in outline, up to 10 cm. or more wide, deeply cleft a third or more of its length into two winglike lobes, otherwise entire, palmately nerved. Flowers white, pink and yellow variegated, in terminal or axillary racemes, with solitary stamen; pod elongated, up to 15 cm. or more long.

An introduced ornamental, rather frequent in villages and occasionally an escape. A tropical American species now widely cultivated. [245] [824]

Genus **Cassia** Linnaeus

Cassia javanica Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 379, 1753.

Rather small tree. Leaves alternate, pinnate, up to about 30 cm. long, leaflets oval, obtuse, up to 5 cm. long. Flowers pink and white, in large racemose clusters; pod cylindrical, up to 30 cm. or more long.

An introduced ornamental, this Malayan species is now widely cultivated. A few specimens of what was taken to be this species were noted in villages. It is probable that *C. fistula* Linnaeus also is present, though it was not noted. *Cassia alata* Linnaeus is frequent in dooryards. [245] [824] [351]

Cassia leschenaultiana de Candolle, Soc. Phys. Hist. Nat. Genève, Mém. 2: 132, 1824.

Pubescent, subshrubby herb, up to 80 cm. or more tall. Leaves pinnate, alternate, up to about 7 cm. long, leaflets linear-oblong, apex rounded, mucronate, base obliquely inequilateral, up to 30-40 on each leaf, 1-2 cm. long and 3 mm. wide, essentially sessile. Flowers yellow, 1-1.5 cm. wide, several, in axillary fascicles; pods up to 5 cm. long and 4 mm. wide, very thin, linear, slightly falcate.

Vava'u: roadside between Mataika and Feletoa villages, May 19, 1953, *Yuncker 16023*.

Infrequent. A pantropic weed, possibly of Asiatic origin.

Tongan name: *mateloi vava'u*.

Cassia occidentalis Linnaeus, Sp. Pl., 377, 1753.

Glabrous, erect, branching herb, up to 1 m. or more tall, slightly woody at base. Leaves alternate, even-pinnate, leaflets mostly 10 or 12, elliptic- or ovate-lanceolate, acuminate, base inequilaterally rounded, up to 7 cm. or more long and 2-3 cm. wide, petiolules 1-2 mm. long, petiole with a conspicuous gland near base. Flowers yellow, about 2.5 cm. wide, in few-flowered, axillary, racemose clusters; pods flat, glabrous, falcate, up to 12 cm. or more long.

'Eua: *Lister*.

Lifuka: in thicket near beach north of Pangai village, Apr. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15708*.

Occasional. A tropical American species now pantropic in distribution.

Tongan name: *pi*.

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Introduced ornamental.[1] Frequent about dwellings and cemeteries. Occasional as an escape in waste areas. An African species now of worldwide cultivation. 137 [824] [247] [351]

Tongan name: *polosomo.*

Family Rhamnaceae

Genus **Rhamnella** Miquel

Rhamnella vitiensis (Bentham) A. C. Smith, Torrey Bot. Club, Bull. 70: 544, 1943.

"A small, gnarled tree, up to 3 m. or more tall. Leaves oval. Flowers axillary, the petals pale yellow."

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

Infrequent. From Queensland and New Guinea eastward to Tonga.

Rhamnus vitiensis Benth. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *taka.*

Genus **Colubrina** L. C. Richard

Colubrina asiatica (Linnaeus) Brongniart, Ann. Sci. Nat. 10: 369, 1827.

More or less sprawling shrub, or sometimes a small tree up to 3 or 4 m. tall. Leaves simple, alternate, ovate, acuminate, base rounded or subcordate, crenate-dentate, up to 8 cm. or more long and 5 cm. wide, palmately three-nerved, midrib branched upward, nearly glabrous, petioles about 1 cm. long. Flowers small, yellowish green, on slender pedicels, in small, axillary, short-pedunculate, cymose clusters; fruit subglobose, 6-8 mm. in diameter, greenish.

Tongatapu: in seaside thicket along road west of Nuku'alofa, Mar. 7, 1953, *Yuncker 15214;* near Navutoka village, Feb. 27, 1953, *Yuncker 15094;* near beach eastward of Ma'ofanga, Oct. 29, 1951, *Hürlimann 19.*

'Eua: *Lister;* near sea, above Ohonua village, Apr. 2, 1953, *Yuncker 15619.*

Nomuka: margin of thicket on lakeward side of road encircling island, May 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15836.*

Lifuka: seaside thicket toward northern end of island, Apr. 24, 1953, *Yuncker 15703.*

Vava'u: *Crosby;* upper rim of seaside cliff northeast of Leimatua, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16059.*

Niuatoputapu: plain south of Falehau, Dec. 7, 1951, *Hürlimann 382.*

Frequent near the shore throughout Tonga. From Africa and India eastward to Polynesia.

Tongan name: *fiho'a.*

The bark and the leaves lather when rubbed in water and may be used as a soap substitute. [824] [515]

[1] /Impatiens balsamina -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Vava'u: *Crosby;* in forest on slope above Anovai Lake, May 18, 1953, *Yuncker 16050;* near upper edge of seaside cliff along northwestern side of island, May 25, 1953, *Yuncker 16181.* 137

In forests and thickets, usually on seaside cliffs. Also in Samoa.

Tongan name: ***kulukulu.***

The large leaves are used for wrapping fish.[1] [824] [251]

Genus **Polyscias** Forster

Polyscias multijuga (A. Gray) Harms, in Engler and Prantl, Nat. Pflanzenfam. 3(8): 45, 1894.

Small tree with thick, pithy stems and branches, up to 5 m. tall. Leaves pinnate, leaflets 9-13, oval-oblong, acuminate, base more or less inequilaterally obtuse, entire, up to 15 cm. or more long and 6 cm. wide, pinnately nerved, petioles vaginate and winged toward base, clasping. Flowers very small, numerous, in large, branching, axillary clusters, up to 60 cm. or more long.

Tongatapu: in dense thicket near shore, Blow Hole area, near Houma village, June 1, 1953, *Yuncker 16227.*

'Eua: *Lister.*

Locally abundant. Also on Niue Island.

Panax multijugum Benth. and Hook. f. in Hemsley's list.

Tongan name: ***tanetane.***

Genus **Nothopanax** Miquel

Nothopanax fruticosum (Linnaeus) Miquel, Fl. Ind. Bat. 1(1): 765, 1856.

Glabrous shrub, up to 3 m. or more tall. Leaves decompound, up to 30 cm. or more long, leaflets quite variable in form, often more or less lanceolate, often laciniated and spiny-toothed, up to 10 cm. long, terminal leaflet usually largest, often with white margins. Flowers small, greenish white, in small umbels, forming large, terminal, paniculate clusters; fruit flattened, ribbed.

Tongatapu: *Home.*

A tropical Asiatic plant of frequent cultivation in Polynesia as an ornamental. The various forms have been given varietal names.

Reported by Hemsley in his list as *Panax fruticosum* L.

Nothopanax guilfoylei (Cogniaux and Marché) Merrill, Philippine Jour. Sci. 7C: 242, 1912.

Shrub or small tree up to 3 m. or more tall, with abruptly ascending branches. Leaves alternate, odd-pinnate, green with white margins, leaflets coarsely sharp-toothed, mostly five or seven, terminal leaflet largest, petiole clasping stem. Flowers and fruit rare, in terminal, racemose clusters.

An introduced ornamental, commonly planted in hedges or about dwellings. Pantropic. This species occurs in a number of varieties showing differences in the character of the leaflets, two or three of which were noted in Tonga. [824] [245] [351]

1 / Mertya macrophylla -- Analyst/

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Nomuka: margin of thicket along road encircling island between sea and inland lake, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15816.* 137

Lifuka: roadside ditch between Pangai village and southern end of island, Apr. 28, 1953, *Yuncker 15780.*

Vava'u: along road between Mataika and Feletoa, northwest of Neiafu, May 20, 1953, *Yuncker 16053.*

Occasional as a plantation and waste-area weed throughout Tonga. A tropical American plant now widespread in warm countries.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi totolo.*

Salvia coccinea Jussieu, Murray, Soc. Reg. Sci. Gott. Comm. 1: 86, 1778.

Freely branching, hairy herb, up to about 60 cm. tall. Leaves ovate, acute or obtuse, base truncate or subcordate, up to 5 cm. or more long, crenate-serrate, petioles rather slender. Flowers bright red or pink, corolla puberulent, about twice as long as calyx.

Vava'u: *Crosby.*

A tropical American species rather widespread as a weed in waste areas.

S. pseudo-coccinea Jacq. in Burkill's list.

Tongan name: *te'ekosi.*

Genus Coleus Loureiro

Coleus amboinicus Loureiro, Fl. Cochinchinensis, 372, 1790.

Low, densely pubescent, aromatic herb. Leaves opposite, ovate, acute or obtusish, base cuneate, up to 12 cm. or more long and 9 cm. wide, coarsely toothed, finely pubescent on both sides, petiole up to 5 cm. or more long. Flowers pale lavender, on short, slender pedicels, in whorls in a terminal, interrupted, racemose cluster.

Tongatapu: garden, Nuku'alofa, 1926, *Setchell and Parks 15414;* in border of plantation near Nualei village, Mar. 9, 1953, *Yuncker 15232.*

Nomuka: sandy soil near sea below village, Apr. 30, 1953, *Yuncker 15861.*

Lifuka: roadside north of Pangai village, May 10, 1953, *Yuncker 15797.*

Frequent as a waste-area and roadside weed throughout Tonga. From India and Malaya to Polynesia.

Tongan names: *pasiole, kaloni.*

The plants are extremely aromatic. The leaves are added to the water for washing clothes to perfume them and are used for scenting oil. [824] [296] [303]

Coleus blumei Bentham, Labiat. Gen. and Sp., 56, 1832.

Erect, tender, square-stemmed, brown-pubescent herb, up to about 1 m. tall. Leaves opposite, ovate, crenate, up to 15 cm. long, acute, often dark red above, red and green beneath, petioles long and slender. Flowers light blue, subsessile, in whorls on an elongated terminal spike.

Frequent as an ornamental about dwellings, in cemeteries, and so forth. Occasional specimens were noted as escapes along roadsides. An East Indian species now of worldwide cultivation. [824] [245] [351] [764]

Table 7. Population of Tongatapu (including 'Atata and 'Eueiki), other islands, and Tonga.

Area	1921	1939	1956	1966
Tongatapu	9,794	15,754	31,264	47,920
Other Islands	13,965	18,376	25,574	29,509
Tonga	23,759	34,130	56,833	77,429

Sources: Tupouniua, 1958:41; Fiefia, 1968:9.

class on Tongatapu.

The local marketplace, Talamahu Market, is becoming increasingly important as a source of food for the non-agrarian sector of the population and as a source of cash for the agrarian sectors.

Settlement Patterns

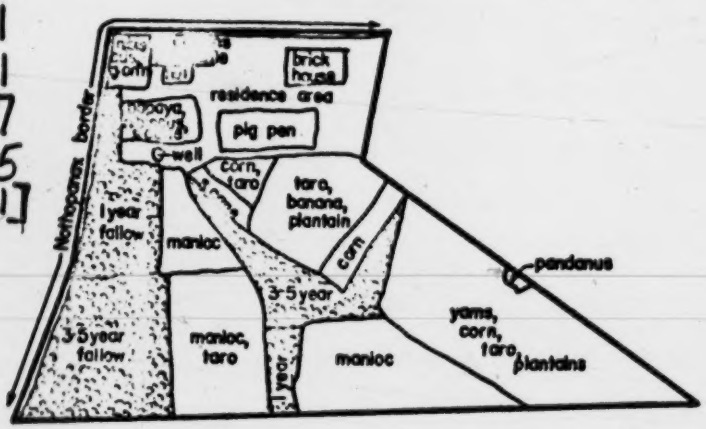
At the time of European contact, the settlement pattern was reportedly of dispersed residences on individual garden allotments in the bush. Tasman, in 1643, found that "each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences" (Wood, 1945:15). Cook, in 1773, described Tongatapu as follows:

> The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in a judicious manner, so as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no town or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires (Gifford, 1929:5).

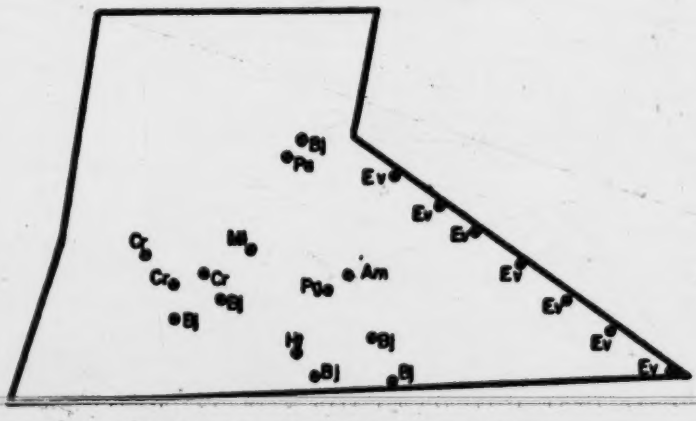
Figure 14. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 2

Location: Hofoa Area: 8.25 Acres

102
241
311
137
245
●[351]



Distribution of Major Crops



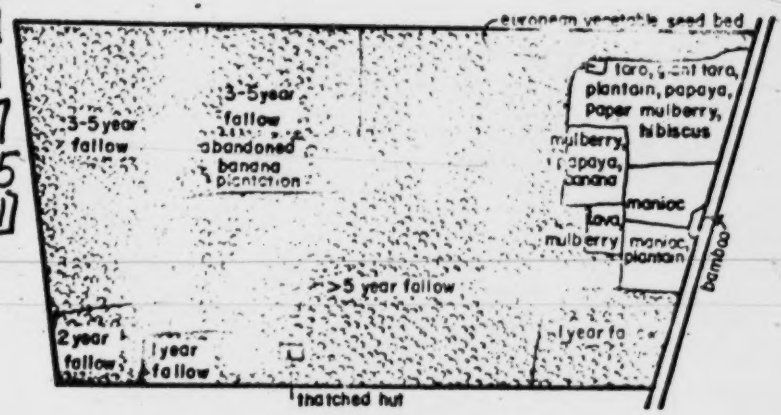
Distribution of Important Tree Species

(Coconut Coverage: 75% Mature Palms; No Replanted Palms.)

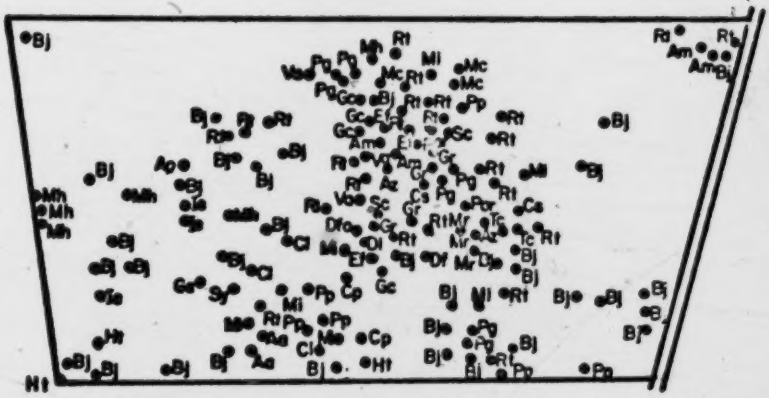
Figure 15. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 3

Location: Hofoa Area: 8.26 Acres

102
241
311
137
245
[351]



Distribution of Major Crops



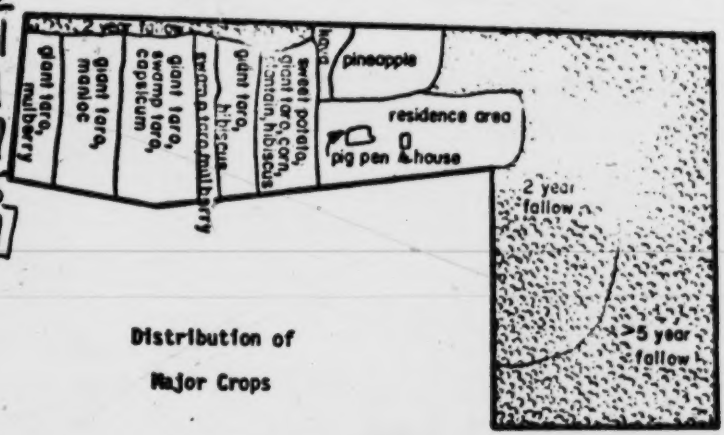
Distribution of Important Tree Species

(Coconut Coverage: 75% Mature Palms; No Replanted Palms.)

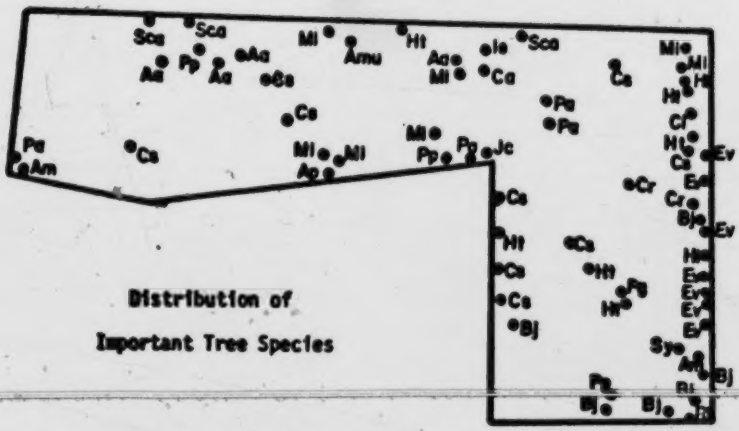
Figure 16. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 6

Location: Haveluloto Area: 6.41 Acres

102
241
311
137
245
[351]



Distribution of Major Crops

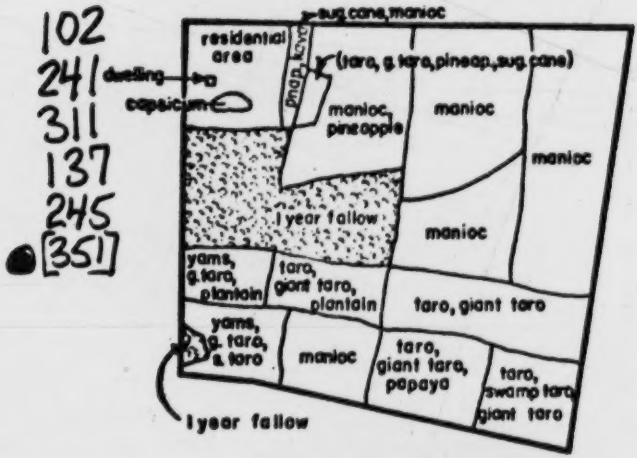


Distribution of Important Tree Species

(Coconut Coverage: 50% Mature Palms; No Replanted Palms.)

Figure 18. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 12

Location: Hofoa Area: 4.76 Acres

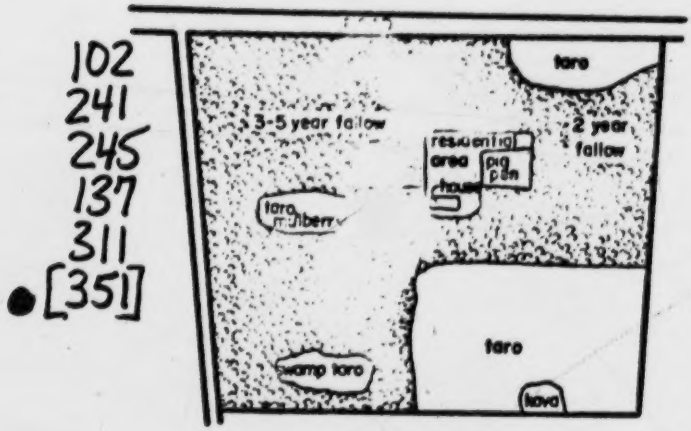


Distribution of Major Crops

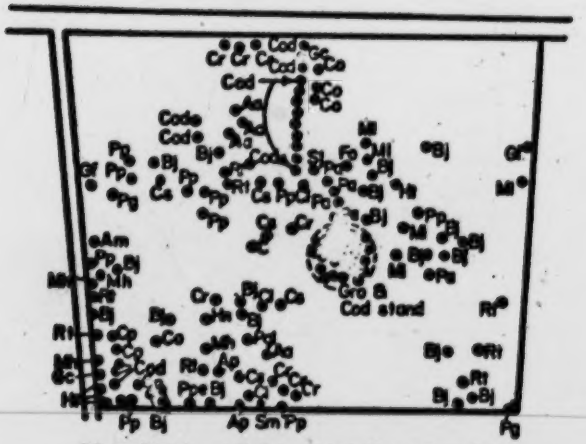
Distribution of Important Tree Species
(Coconut Coverage: 75% Mature Palms; 10% Replanted Palms.)

Figure 28. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 39

Location: Houma Area: 8.26 Acres



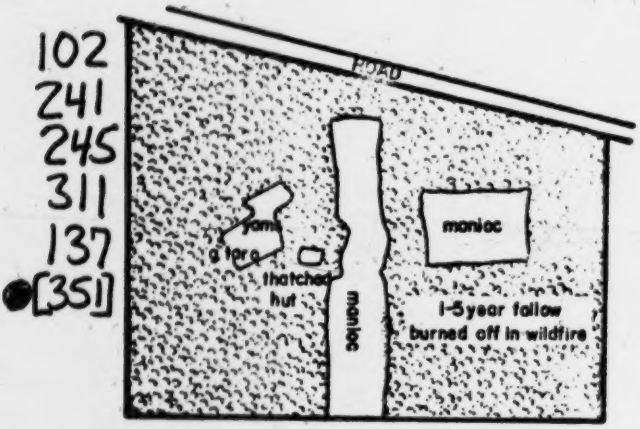
Distribution of Major Crops



Distribution of Important Tree Species
(Coconut Coverage: 75% Mature Palms; 10% Replanted Palms.)

Figure 31. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 53

Location: Vaini Area: 8.30 Acres



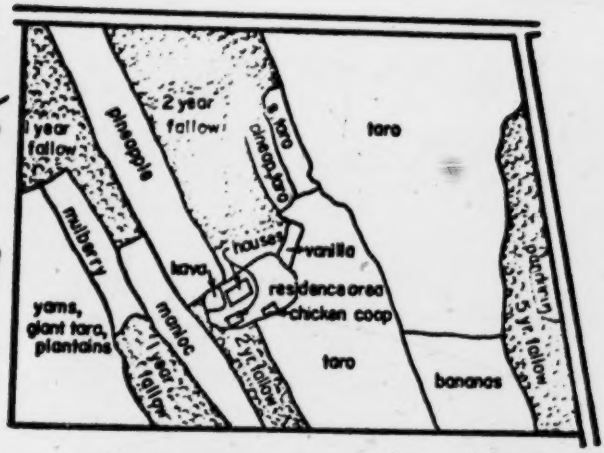
Distribution of Major Crops

Distribution of Important Tree Species
(Coconut Coverage: 25% Mature Palms; 10% Replanted Palms.)

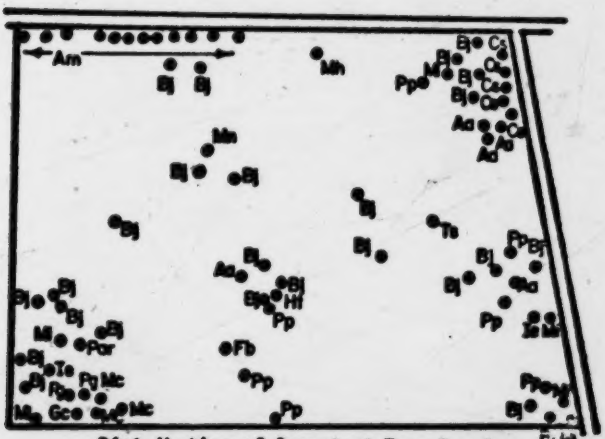
Figure 35. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 67

Location: Vaini 'uta Area: 8.25 Acres

102
241
245
311
137
[351]



Distribution of Major Crops

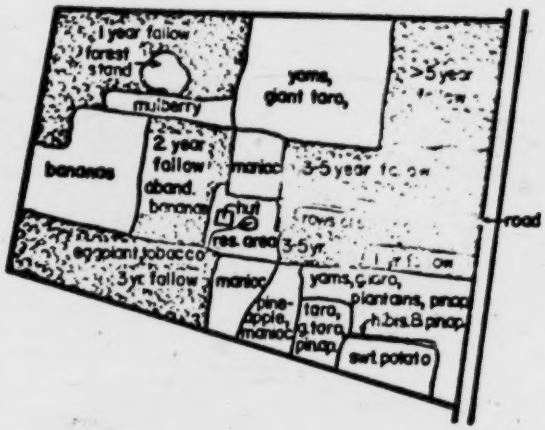


Distribution of Important Tree Species
(Coconut Coverage: 100% Mature Palms; No Replanted Palms.)

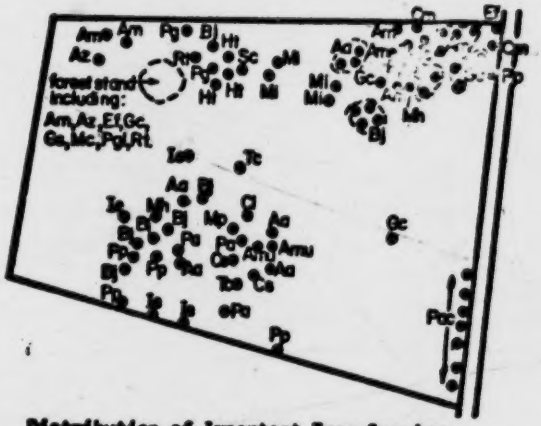
Figure 37. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 71

Location: Ha'asini Area: 8.01 Acres

102
241
245
311
137
● [351]



Distribution of Major Crops

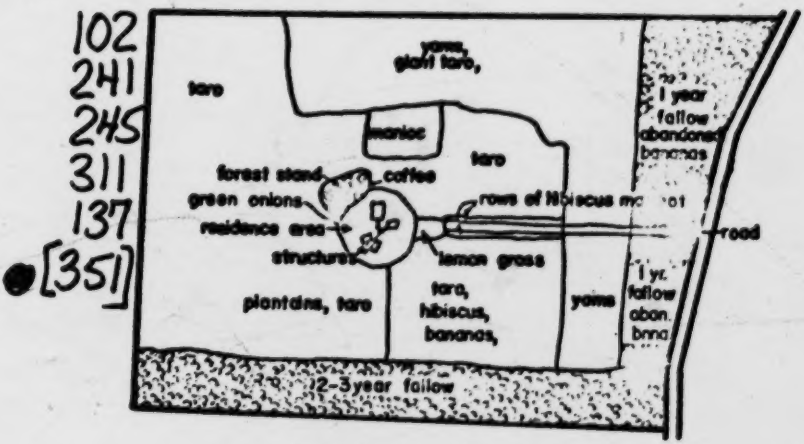


Distribution of Important Tree Species

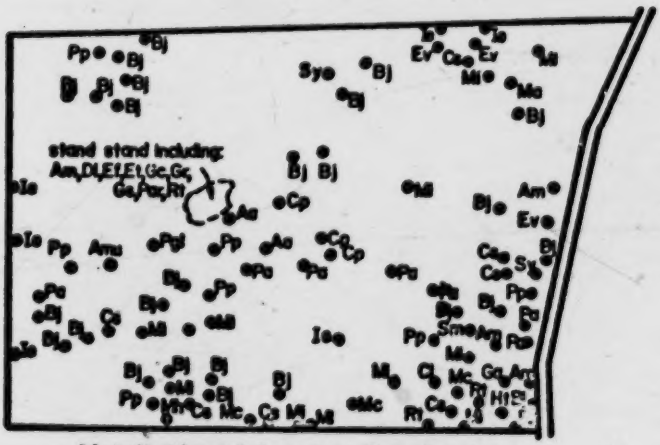
(Coconut Coverage: 10% Mature Palms; 5% Replanted Palms.)

Figure 39. SAMPLE BUSH ALLOTMENT NO. 84

Location: Lapaha **Area: 10.00 Acres**



Distribution of Major Crops



Distribution of Important Tree Species

(Coconut Coverage: 50% Mature Palms; No Replanted Palms.

CHAPTER V

PLANT ASSOCIATIONS AND AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES ON TOWN ALLOTMENTS.

125 Data were collected during a survey of 192 town allotments, 113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in the rural villages of Fo'ui - Ha'avakatolo (20), Niutoua (12), 'Utulau (24) and Fua'amotu (16) (Figure 3).A

351 342 343 Town allotments on Tongatapu average about one-half acre or less and usually contain a sleeping house (fale mohe) and, depending on the type and size of household, a number of other structures, including separate kitchens (peito), other smaller sleeping houses (fale mohe), out-houses (fale vao), and washhouses. (Fale kaukau). Other improvements may include fences, water supply systems, and livestock pens. The vegetation complex ranges from almost untended to highly cultivated subsistence and ornamental gardens.

241 128 In the discussion of gardens on bush allotments, the acreage of different crops was considered; however, owing to the limited cultivable area on town allotments, only the presence and relative abundance of crops and important tree species will be discussed. No consideration will be given here to commercial crops and fallow vegetation because they occupy negligible areas on town allotments.

A[See Category 116, p. 14--Analyst.]

351
342

Selected Agricultural Practices and Conditions

All allotments had at least one main sleeping house or fale mohe (Table 43).

351
342
369

Table 43. Frequency occurrence of specified housetypes on 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural villages) (The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of allotments with more than one of a given housetype).

Housetype	Nuku'alofa Number of Occurrences	Rural Number of Occurrences
Large Wooden	64 (3)	27
Large Brick	11	8
Small Wooden	19 (1)	5
Thatch	56 (3)	42
TOTAL	150 (7)	82

The rural areas have a lower percentage of large wooden houses than the Nuku'alofa area. The frequency of occurrence of other structures such as separate kitchens (peito), outhouses (fale vao) and wash houses (fale kaukau) reflected no significant differences between the rural and urban areas.

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A large number of allotments, particularly in Nuku'alofa, were fenced with either barbed wire or living fences (Table 44). Cordyline terminalis (si) generally

351 245 serves as a border rather than a true hedge or fence. The hedges and fences are useful for ornamental purposes, to delineate property lines, and to protect gardens from livestock damage.

351 245 417 369 Table 44. Frequency occurrence of specific fence types on 192 town allotments (113 in Nuku'alofa and 79 in rural villages).

Fencetype	Nuku'alofa Occurrences	Rural Occurrences
Hibiscus spp.	45	18
Nothopanax spp.	45	11
Barbed Wire	34	19
Cordyline terminalis	26	4
Acalypha spp.	14	1
Erythrina variegata	9	0
Thunbergia erecta	8	4
Jatropha curcas	7	0
Wood	0	1

312 369 One major difference between the Nuku'alofa and rural town allotments is the greater availability of water in Nuku'alofa (Table 45). In the rural villages, although some wells and rainfall catchment systems exist, there were no private water systems and most people depended

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137 place include:

1) the widespread adoption of the two most common staple crops, manioc and American taro which were of little or no importance a century ago (West, 1865:139; Maude, 1965:162);

2) the integration of commercial crops, such as coconuts in formal plantations, bananas, watermelons, pineapples, and in some cases garden vegetables, into the traditional cropping sequences;

3) the shortening of fallow periods with little or no forest fallow; and

4) the modification of fallow vegetation, which is now characterized by shrubs and grasses and has been enriched by the accidential and deliberate introduction of many weedy species, such as Lantana camara, Psidium guajava, Panicum maximum, Leucaena leucocephala, to mention only a few.

Town Allotments.

241 Agriculture as practiced on town allotments, although utilizing much the same technology and most of the same plants, varied considerably from that practiced on
241 bush allotments. The area of about one-quarter acre avail-
351 able for cropping, dwellings, and other structures, limits the nature of the cropping on town allotments. Nevertheless, these dooryard gardens did appear to supply a great
241

241 range of subsistence products.

241 The average town allotment generally has at least one
35 main dwelling or sleeping house (fale mohe) plus a number
342 of other structures, such as separate kitchens (peito),
343 wash houses (fale kaukau), outhouses (fale vao), and in
369 some cases pig sties. On a majority of the town allotments in Nuku'alofa, and to a lesser extent in the rural villages, fences were found around the entire allotment or around
417 portions used for keeping livestock. Fences for livestock
245 were usually of barbed wire. Those which were more ornamental or used to delineate property boundaries were often living fences or hedges, most commonly of Hibiscus spp. and Nothopanax spp. Wells, rainfall catchment systems, and
241 312 369 private water pipes were common on town allotments in Nuku'alofa. In the rural areas, water was generally obtained from centrally located village water pipes.

241 231 Within this setting, a great variety of livestock, staple crops, and other valuable plants and trees were found. Almost all allotments had some livestock; over half had chickens, dogs, and pigs, while horses, cats, ducks,
241 231 369 goats, and cattle were found on several. In Nuku'alofa, the law prohibits pigs and other animals except poultry roaming free. On rural town allotments, however, over half of those sampled had loose pigs. These constitute a major deterrent
241 369 to the cultivation of certain crops. Staple crops were cultivated in limited acreages on about half of all town

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369 more frequent in Nuku'alofa than on the rural town allotments.

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245 The most impressive vegetational feature on town allotments was the great range of valuable tree species that are cultivated and protected. These included over 75 different species, some of which were found on a majority of all town allotments. The most frequently occurring species were fruit trees such as breadfruit (Artocarpus altilis), mango (Mangifera indica), coconut (Cocos nucifera), tava (Pometia pinnata), and citrus trees (Citrus spp.). Some of the more important non-fruit trees included Plumeria spp., Hibiscus tiliaceus, Aleurites moluccana, Ceiba pentandra, and Pandanus tectorius. There seemed to be no [369] marked difference in the frequency of occurrence of these trees between Nuku'alofa and rural town allotments.

241 Fallow or secondary vegetation was almost non-existent, except where there were uncut weeds or poorly [351] maintained gardens. Most areas not occupied by structures, cultivated plots, or trees generally consisted of mowed or cut weeds which served as a lawn.

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369 The town allotments, especially in the urban area of Nuku'alofa, seemed to constitute a very important source of food and other subsistence products. The range of crops, protected plants, and trees is similar to that found on bush allotments although town allotments have more recent introductions than bush allotments. And finally, livestock

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

Langa Fonua Formed In 1954

Women's work in Tonga is recognised throughout as having a vital part to play in the natural structure and economy. It was after Queen Salote returned from her triumphant participation in the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in 1953 that she called together a group of leading women in Tonga, particularly members of the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association, to discuss the formation of a local equivalent to Women's Institutes.

Out of this came the *Langa Fonua*, which was inaugurated on May 7, 1954. It is a movement dedicated to the progress of home and community through the continuous education and inspiration of the women throughout the villages.

Among a population estimated in 1955 as 56,000 there are now approximately 1,000 members in Tongatapu and the other islands, with 23 branches in Tongatapu alone, each with its own Leader and Secretary, while the policy and general directive for the movement comes from the Central Committee elected at the annual general meeting. Queen Salote is President of the *Langa Fonua*.

Headquarters House In Nuku'alofa

An outstanding feature is the headquarters house in Nuku'alofa, in the centre of that small town. It is a spacious, cool, handsomely equipped dwelling house, surrounded by a wide

[P. 26-C]

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351 verandah, with a well-nurtured flower garden at the front and a large stretch of smooth lawn at the back, edged with laden banana trees and other useful sources of food and shade.

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[435] The *Langa Fonua* House was bought in September, 1957, for £4,500, the money and Tongan furnishings (mats, etc.) being collected throughout the Kingdom by women's groups. It is used for general and committee meetings and for a series of valuable classes in cookery, sewing, child welfare, first aid, English and Tongan. These classes are attended by members of *Langa Fonua* from Tongatapu villages and are taught by volunteer instructors, both Tongan and European. It is a dignified yet functional house, preserving in its family furnishings the quality of a lived-in home.

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[342]

Five-Day Courses For Women Leaders

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648 It was in this house that three five-day courses were conducted by Miss June Summerton of the South Pacific Health Service and myself, and in its spacious living rooms that we ate and slept and had our office.

574 We were cared for with that all-inclusive, thoughtful, unobtrusive and capacious hospitality for which Tonga is famous, delicacies or extra equipment frequently appearing from the Palace.

Receptions, dinners, cocktail parties and above all feasts and a gay and totally unsuspected surprise party organised by Princess Melenaite with the

[P.26-D] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27-B]

/27 cont./

181 In general, the Tongans have kept the cleanliness and love of
515 order characteristic of the Polynesians. The huts inside usually
[356] look quite tidy and clean, and in personal grooming people are fairly conscientious. This has increased to a certain extent through teaching of hygiene in all schools, so that one scarcely meets a Tongan with long, black-bordered fingernails or toenails. However, on the
181 Tongan plantations orderliness often leaves much to be desired and the
351 neatly plaited fences praised by earlier observers (41)
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[113] 41. For example, J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 163; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 323/324; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific Ocean/cited in English/. London 1799. pp. 102, 245; Ch. Wilkes, loc. cit. p. 13.

are today to be found neither on the plantation (where at most a single barbed wire constitutes the fence) nor in the villages. (42)

42. Only a few villages have a (usually uncared-for) stockade-style fence (coconut palm trunks) to set off plantings.

[247] In the latter there is also not always painstaking order and cleanliness, and one seldom comes across a property owner who has planted flowers and ornamental bushes for beauty. (43)

[113] 43. Compare with this G. Forster, loc. cit. pp. 325, 340; J. Cook, Voyage dans l'Hemishpere Austral /Voyage in the southern hemisphere/ vol. II. Paris 1778. p. 68.

181 Most of the wooden houses in need or repair are so neglected that they
351 are practically falling apart. The untidiness of many plantations is
177 usually due to the often rather long approach to them required by
461 their owners and the proliferating weeds resulting from climate con-
[356] ditions, whereas the lack of orderliness in the villages may be regarded as a direct result of European influences which also brought

181 /27 cont./
351 about the deterioration of various Tongan crafts (that is, caused
177 them to die out or become crude), the natives either having lost
461 interest entirely in the necessary work, or having adopted more convenient, in their eyes "more attractive," substitutes or means of production, often without acquiring a genuine understanding of the new /process/. (44)

44. In this connection see the origin and present aspect of the villages (p. 134 ff.) and the "modern" house types (p. 187 ff.).

181 The Tongan can still be regarded as undependable, insofar as he
805 often fails to keep promises or appointments made both with his /28/
822 own people as well as whites, without ever feeling as having committed
177 a discourtesy or even an injustice. The long European influence has also not been able, save for a few exceptions, to accustom the Tongan to the concept of time. In making appointments he frequently mixes up today and tomorrow, and especially, with the time of day and the hour, he is rather casual, even if he owns a watch. In Tonga where one lives far from the world's hustle and bustle, European dependability and punctuality, without which we can no longer manage in the complicated life of our large cities, are, of course, unnecessary. [577] Not arriving on time, not keeping a promise won't matter much on the islands, and such a "lapse" is not held against anyone by the Tongans. This is simply natural in the Tongan way of life. However, in one
181 area the natives have become accustomed to a punctuality that can
805 almost be called exactness, namely /the attendance at/ religious
794 services. With old and new clocks they endeavor to keep to the time
177 announced on individual radios or received from other islands in their
[202] group; promptly at the beginning of the frequent services (that is, on the dot if possible) the big drum is beaten or the bell rung and without delay they proceed to church where, usually next to the pulpit or the preacher's table, there is a pendulum clock or an alarm

/93 cont./

368 there are three churches (party in Tongan style) in the settlement inhabited by only 200 natives.

[366] In addition, a village has a government school and often a Wesleyan school as well, one to four kautaha houses (meeting place of the women's cooperative for tapa- and mat-making) and one to four small (retail) shops.

361 Although most of the houses are situated on the roads that intersect
351 the villages, their distribution seems irregular. The broad grassy areas (265)

[245] 265. These are often interspersed with mango and bread-fruit trees.

on which they are situated are (in accordance with the law) cut short by the natives, but are often untidy looking. Since most individual plots are not fenced in and the neatly plaited fences of plantations and houses praised by observers in old times have long since been forgotten the villages give an even more unkempt impression.

361 These villages are a development of more recent times. In
178 ancient Tonga the houses of commoners were scattered throughout the
[491] islands; people lived on their plantations, (266)

266. Ellis writes, for example: "The houses do not form towns or villages, but are built about five hundred yards or more from each other and generally in the midst of a plantation, the whole of which is frequently fenced in with a hedge of bamboo, or reeds with a door-way"; /cited in English/ (W. Ellis, An authentic Narrative.../cited in English /. loc. cit. I. 1782 pp. 88/89.

and many roads made possible easy connection between the plantations. (267)

267. Reminiscent of this old way of settlement are the huts on individual plantations found even today on various islands, which are very

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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Tongatapu

ing the Multiplication Table they accompanied themselves by clapping their hands in time to the words, throwing the arms from side to side, all calling out at the same time at the top of their voices, and seeming to enjoy the whole affair amazingly. An old chief of considerable influence, named Shadrack, sat with the missionaries at the head of the school, and whenever the crowd outside talked too loud he commanded silence.

After this examination was over we visited another school, for the instruction of native teachers, which consisted of about twenty persons in all, principally chiefs and their wives. When we entered the school-room they were all standing up round the sides of the apartment, reading aloud. They were taught English, arithmetic, geography, writing, &c. After the reading and cipher-ing exercises were over, they sat down in two rows before a frame containing a set of large maps. These were drawn down, one after another, the natives repeating the names of the places, with particulars respecting them, as they were severally touched by the missionary. Captain Keppel then desired them to point out various places which he named. Spain, being the first, was immediately pointed out by a chief, Shadrack Moomie, Judge of the Island and a son of the late king. The end of the rod was then shifted slightly over, so as to rest upon Portugal, which Shadrack immediately named; and being asked to point out some islands in the Mediterranean which were mentioned, he did so readily. Being desired to show the track which should be taken by the Meander, for England, he at once traced it correctly. The rest of the pupils appeared equally intelligent. Several of the wives of these chiefs were present, and were treated by the men with marked attention, being seated in the foremost places. The missionaries call this "the native training institution," or school for educating native teachers. At the time of our visit there were twenty-four natives under this kind of instruction—eight being from the island of Vavau, six from Haabai, and ten belonging to Tongatabu. Besides these there are twelve female students, eight of whom are wives of the native teachers: there was also a chief from Feejee.

The two school-rooms, together with the houses of the native teachers, are built within a fence enclosing about 20 acres of ground, which was given for the purpose by King George. It is cultivated as a garden by the teachers residing upon it; and a broad walk, bordered with pine-apple plants and bananas, runs along its whole length, and on each side are the cottages of the teachers, with neatly kept paths leading to them from the main walk.

After attending the examinations, Mr. Thompson, the chaplain of the Meander, and myself, went upon an exploring stroll round the